the WOMAN VOTER

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OUR AMENDMENT PASSES THE SENATE

PRIMARY SUFFRAGE IN ARKANSAS

REFLECTIONS OF A HOUSEWIFE

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APRIL, 1917

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The Woman Voter is the only magazine published in the interests of the New York State campaign for woman suffrage. It contains official news of the work, authoritative statements on policy by officers of *The New York State Woman Suffrage Party,* and general articles by well known writers.

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THE WOMAN VOTER

APRIL, 1917

The Woman Suffrage Party has one plank in its platform and only one—votes for the women of New York State, the women of the United States and the women of the world.

To the Voters Next

AFTER some quite unnecessary and unexplainable delay, the State Senate on March 12th passed the constitutional amendment which when ratified at the polls on November 6th, as we confidently expect, will give the women of the State of New York the right of full franchise.

No debate preceded the passage of the bill, and but few speeches were made. The remarks as a whole were expressive of the speakers' personal objections to the measure, argument there was none. Senator Sage rather unnecessarily insisted that he was always against suffrage, and did a little prophesying; Senator Walters was astounded by Senator Brown's vote, but recovered sufficiently to add he understood the latter's position.

Senator Brown began his speech with the statement that he didn't want the suffrage resubmission plank in the Republican platform, and protested against the insertion, but as it was there he was bound as a party man to vote in the affirmative. The rest of the speech was along the familiar lines of Brownesque rhetoric as to the ideals of a "surpassing manhood" and also of what this same manhood considers the ideals of a "surpassing womanhood." The Senator came to earth in a digression which showed marked lack of information in regard to women industrially employed. Then the honorable gentleman digressed again and depicted the effect of the ballot, which the women have not yet acquired, in reducing the birth rate. And only a year ago—"woman peopled the earth with men."

The legislative machinery has completed its work, and the amendment now goes to the voters in November, "alone and unwedded." This condition of single-blessedness simply means that all other referenda and constitutional amendments which have passed one Legislature will be passed by the present Legislature to be voted upon in 1918.

The Awakening of England

TWO events during the most terrible war the world has ever known, the revolution in Russia and franchise reform including woman suffrage in England, have followed each other so quickly that we can scarcely realize they have happened. A greater force than the most ingeniously contrived instrument of destruction is working silently and surely, both occurrences are forward steps in the advance of Democracy. The most autocratic government in the world furnished the reason for its own overthrow. The self-sacrificing war service of the English women battered down "expediency", the last defence of sex discrimination in politics.

Yielding to the inevitable characterized the two revolutions; in Russia it was abdication, in England it was recognition and open confession very good for the political soul. Ex-Premier Asquith, Andrew Bonar Law, and Walter Hume Long proclaim their conversion in terms whose sincerity cannot be questioned. In defining his change of opinion, Mr. Asquith admits that with the exception of actual bearing of arms in the field, there had been no service in which women had not been as active and efficient as men. Mr. Long goes still farther and declares that without the heroism, self-denial and endurance of women the country could never have faced its hour of crisis. And Mr. Bonar Law would do his best to prevent any extension of the franchise to men, if women are left out. The Premier, Lloyd George, has always been a suffragist, but not always one in good and regular standing, but he stands firmly now by his belief. There may be some delay, but the vote is certain, for Mr. Asquith and Mrs. Pankhurst are in accord.

Moreover the Government has pledged its word that the reform will be brought about as speedily as possible, and its good faith is without question. Congratulations to England! At last she has recognized the value of the latent citizenship of over half her population.

What Shall Be Our Place

AT this writing Congress will assemble in two days' time in special session to determine questions of war and defence. The action of England is the most convincing admission that women have as vital an interest in the affairs of government as men, and are therefore entitled to voice in matters of state. The anti-suffragist argument, so-called, has collapsed from inherent weakness, the poor thing never had much stamnia. Our constitutional amendment will be again introduced. What will Congress do with it? Will the greatest republic in the world fail to follow the example of a limited monarchy? Will Congress proclaim itself without statesmen of vision? Shall it be said that America is content to lag behind England? Gentlemen of the House and Senate, the answer rests with you.

Some Questions

To Joseph H. Choate, Elihu Root, Henry L. Stimson, George W. Wickersham, and others, Greeting:

In view of the fact that you, the leaders of the opposition to the granting of suffrage to women in New York State, are also leaders in the universal-service and war movement; and, further, in view of the decision of both the great parties in England to enfranchise English women because of their war service, and the movement for their enfranchisement in Russia and France, will you not now desist from your opposition and join the suffragists in making the demand for it in this State unanimous, since women have demonstrated their absolute necessity in modern warfare? Would not such a move on your part do a great deal towards consolidating public opinion behind the Government in this crisis? Would it not intensify the loyalty of the women of whom multitudes feel that they are unjustly and unpatriotically denied a voice in the civil as well as military affairs of the nation?—The Evening Post.

A New Church Organization

To present suffrage in its higher, spiritual significance is the object of a new organization called the Protestant Episcopal Association of New York, affiliated with the New York City Woman Suffrage Party. The organization was formed at a meeting held on March 9th in the parish house of the Church of the Ascension which was attended by a large number of women from the Episcopal churches in the city.

The Rev. Dr. Percy Stickney Grant opened the meeting and explained the purpose of the organization. The officers chosen were: President, Mrs. Richard Aldrich; Vice-President, Mrs. Charles Noel Edge; Secretary, Miss Margaret Hobart; Treasurer, Miss Carlotta Nicoll.

On the organization committee to secure members in every Episcopal parish are: Mrs. Richard Aldrich, Mrs. V. Simkhovitch, Mrs. Caroline Choate, Mrs. C. N. Edge, Mrs. J. G. Croswell, Mrs. A. Hunt, Mrs. J. Wright, and Mrs. William H. Hyde.

A corporate communion service was held later at the Church of St. Mary the Virgin. For use at this service and for all church services of the organization, the Rev. Dr. Dickenson Miller, of the General Theological Seminary has prepared the following collect:

"Everliving God, whose Holy Spirit, working through the mind of our fathers, has set before the people of this land the duty of self-governance; grant that they may awake to the full vision of its meaning; and suffering it no longer to be confined by the barriers of sex, may speedily call to aid in the ruling of the nation the mind and heart of women, through Him who equally summoned all to the service of His Kingdom, Thy Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ."

Organized Womanhood

Carrie Chapman Catt

(Through the courtesy of The Wheeler Syndicate, Inc., we are enabled to reproduce in part the timely interview with Mrs. Catt, secured by Mr. Edward S. Van Zile, author and editorial writer for the New York Sun.—Editor.)

I AM a pacifist, but not for peace without honor. I'd be willing, if necessary, to die for my country.

The women of this country are, as a whole, patriotic, and if war comes they will prove it. But it is imperative that our activities in behalf of our government in its time of stress should not be partially ineffective, as were those of European women for a long period succeeding the outbreak of war in the Old World. I was in Europe in the summer of 1914 and I know from personal observation how much time and effort were wasted before the governments of the belligerent powers were able to avail themselves of the absolutely necessary services of the women of their respective countries. There was a time in the remote past when a warring nation paid but little attention to what might be called the dynamics of its non-combatant population. Today no power can wage successful war without the organized aid of its women.

It is the duty of those of us who had an opportunity, to observe how war disorganized society on the other side, and brought suffering to millions of homes, to do our utmost to avoid the mistakes that were made there. To the masses of the people in nearly all the belligerent countries the conflict came as an utter surprise. The result was a condition of choas in many lines of endeavor. Let me illustrate this by what happened in England.

The first insistent demand of the government was for munitions of war. In order to obtain workers, not only in the established plants, but in those hastily constructed for the emergency, unprecedentedly high wages were offered. Men deserted their usual occupations to accept tempting offers from the munitions factories. In many lines of production not connected with war requirements, activity ceased because of the lack of men workers.

The result of all this was that the working women of England were affected in two sharply contrasted ways. The wives of the men who were getting abnormally high wages in the munitions plants were able to indulge in luxuries they had never known before. On the other hand, thousands of women dependent for wages upon the industries of their own localities, were thrown out of work and into starving conditions because the bulk of the population in their neighborhoods had migrated en masse to munitions centres.

The war had been in progress a year before women entered into the work of making munitions. The reason for their entrance into this field of labor was that the English government exerted more pressure to obtain enlistments and employed various expedients to make army service attractive to even highly-paid skilled workmen. It was at that moment that a vast army of women — 40,000 strong — marched through London and requested the government to accept their services.

A vicious economic merry-go-round resulted from all this that it is incumbent upon the United States to avoid. The munitions concerns in England offering the highest wages, in the wild scramble for operations, seduced workers from manufacturers paying lower wages. There was a constant transfer of workers, each one of them endeavoring to get a place where wages were at the maximum. Then the women were drawn into this costly game of give and take and increased confusion and discontent resulted. A complete upsetting of economic equilibriums took place and a return to anything like normal conditions is not to be hoped for until long after the war is ended. In fact, the cessation of active hostilities will find England confronted by an internal labor conflict the like of which the world has never seen. The adjustment of wages between men and women, the latter having proved their equality with, and sometimes their superiority to, men in lines of endeavor

formerly pursued only by men, is a problem that England is going to find it difficult to solve.

A fact not generally known illustrates how pertinent all this is to the present crisis in our own country, and shows how we are endeavoring to avoid the blunders that England made in 1914 and afterward. A request was sent out recently by an American munitions concern for 1,000 women workers. The wages offered were less than those paid to men. The Woman Suffrage Association has called the attention of the Federation of Labor to this attempted discrimination and has asked that organization to take the matter up with the proper officials of the Government.

We have before us an easier task than that which confronted the women of Europe three years ago. We have been able to learn, from the blunders committed across the waters, what to avoid and, to a certain extent, what to do. The women of this country can perform a great service to the government by helping to tide over the economic maladjustments sure to follow mobilization.

Formerly woman's work in war time consisted merely in making bandages or engaging in untrained nursing. In the complicated society of today we have before us an infinitely greater task, namely, to steady the economic factors of society so that the cataclysm by which they were submerged in Europe may be avoided by us if our country goes to war.

As a first step in this direction the American Woman Suffrage Association recently suggested that a committee be formed composed of one delegate from each of the national organizations through which the women of this country engage in various kinds of endeavor —philanthropic, sociological, political, literary, artistic, scientific, etc. This committee is to elect a small executive group, which will have headquarters in Washington. Here will be registered the kind of service that each organization on our list is ready to perform. For instance, if the Government needs bandage-makers, Red Cross hospital units, munition workers, street-cleaners, car-conductors or any other kind of women workers, it can apply at these headquarters and its needs will be immediately attended to. The executive committee will be ready to begin work at Washington at once.

The most important function of this committee so far as women are concerned is to supply the wives of men mobilized with work before want overtakes them. But at the same time to maintain stable economic conditions and avoid the pitfalls into which England and other countries fell, it is essential that we give to the woman who is to be only a temporary factor in the field of labor a job that is obviously temporary. This process will result in the minimum of disturbance in economic conditions.

The Suffrage Association has chosen for its particular work the establishment of employment bureaus for women and the protection of women from unjust discrimination in lines in which their services are required. We propose, also, to do what we can to increase the food supply. In this connection we are going to work through two committees. One of them will exert its energies to stimulate food production on unused lands, vacant lots, back yards, in short, anywhere that offers the possibility of a crop of some kind in return for the tilling. The other committee will devote its time to distributing information as to the best methods of eliminating waste and of substituting cheaper foods for the more expensive.

Then there is one appalling problem that may arise out of war conditions in this country that we highly-organized suffragists think we can help the government to solve. There are in the United States at least 5,000,000 aliens. Most of them, we sincerely believe, would be, if we get into war, law-abiding and patriotic. But among them are sure to be those who will try to stir up discontent and trouble. It is our intention to minimize this real peril by holding schools for citizenship in the various wards of our cities. We have reason to know that many able and patriotic men will be glad to volunteer their services to assist us in making these schools a success.

Looking beyond the work of organized womanhood of to-day to the time, I trust not far distant, when war shall end, whatever else comes out of the conflict the enfranchisement of women is sure to follow the restoration of peace.

In whatever city the European Peace Conference meets, the International Suffrage Alliance will also convene. When peace terms are made in Europe, we shall be there to insist upon the proposition that we have a deep concern in the preservation of peace upon earth, and to register our protest against the slaughter of man by man. Universal democracy will do away with war.

Our Suffrage Amendment Passes

Harriet Burton Laidlaw

THE long struggle to pass our suffrage amendment through the Legislature in order to insure the continuance of our 1917 campaign for New York State has at last ended. The road has been a long and trying one to travel through two legislative seasons, but the very difficulties and the opposition we have encountered have on one hand engendered greater strength in our campaign and on the other hand have been the most inspiring evidence that we have valid reason to expect a triumphal passage of our amendment at the polls November 6th.

There were two difficulties last year that faced us in getting our resolution through the Legislature. In the first place, for years it has always been part of our routine political work to have hearings before the resolutions committees of the dominant parties in their state conventions and ask for a plank at least for the submission of the woman suffrage amendment. Then in view of the prospective legislative campaign it had always been our custom to do very careful political work before election, beginning with the primaries, pledging prospective legislators to support the amendment in the Legislature. Obviously, none of this work was done in the fall of 1915 as we had high hopes of carrying the state and in any event it would have been suicidal tactics to ask legislators whether they would stand for the resubmission of a woman suffrage amendment! Nor had we worked to secure planks for re-submission in the Republican and Democratic platforms.

Therefore, after our failure to carry our amendment at the polls, when we went up to the Legislature last winter we had to deal with an unprecedented situation from the point of view of suffrage legislative workers. No party had declared for re-submission, the Assemblymen and Senators had not been approached on the subject and we had no hold on them. They were sitting back snugly and thinking, "Well, this woman suffrage question is settled for one good time to come." The men in Albany expressed great amazement that we should consider another campaign for woman suffrage so soon.

This brings me to the second difficulty which we faced in the Legislature. Following their surprise, leading groups of legislators gathered themselves together and began to consider the proposition with more seriousness than had ever characterized their cogitations on the subject before. They began to realize that in a preliminary skirmish we had won in New York State 553,348 votes, they realized that we need only one-sixth more of the electorate to win at the polls the next time. Moreover, in their hearts, no matter what they said, they knew that both because of our organization growth and because of the march of world events there has been a tremendous increase of suffrage sentiment. We understood that remarks were made in certain conferences to this effect: "Why, we can't afford to tamper with this thing. This is getting to be a serious proposition." "The women are likely to win in the next campaign." "We can't risk passing this amendment out again. The thing must be stopped here and now." Or, as some of the women antis who lobbied in Albany very democratically and beautifully expressed it, in arguing with the legislators, "Gentlemen, it is so much easier to defeat the amendment here in the Legislature than it will be in a referendum to the voters!"*

Thereupon political and legislative forces of great strength were rallied and determined opposition was set up. The women of the Woman Suffrage Party participated gallantly in this fight in every assembly district in the state. For fourteen weeks every technicality, every subterfuge that could be employed was directed against the woman suffrage resolution. At one time there was a deadlock. Apparently, the more obvious it was to the men how weighty the assembly district organizations of the Woman Suffrage Party were becoming, the more they feared to let the resolution pass. The deadlock was complete during those weeks when the suffrage amendment was being slowly strangled to death in the Senate Judiciary Committee. This year certain of the men in Albany have said that the amendment was held up because of our deputations and the publicity we gave the delay. This, indeed, seemed to be the only excuse at that time the men had—the excuse bred of their natural irritation that the "irresistible force" of the suffrage organization should have so squarely met the "immovable body" of legislative opposition.

*When all our enemies are fearing our victory, not only as an imminent but practically as a foregone conclusion, shall it remain for any suffragist to be faint hearted as to the results, November 6th.

It has recently been my privilege to see a letter from a prominent leader of one of the dominant political parties to a well known Senator in Albany who said that our amendment would have been reported earlier last year had it not been for "many demonstrations of a disagreeable character carried on by the women" and added that "this year the women had conducted themselves in such a way as had won the commendation of the members of the Legislature generally." The answer of this political leader, who incidentally is a good suffragist, is as follows:

"Dear Senator—Your criticism of the action of the women a year ago prompts me to say that they pursued a suitable course when the great sentiment they represented had not the power of the ballot. Success was the best test of the wisdom of their method. They were driven to the conduct they then pursued solely because they did not have that power of the ballot. You could not persuade me that so politically astute men would have treated in the procrastinating, exhausting and derisive way you last year treated the women, a set of men as intelligent, well organized and self-sacrificing, and representing as great a body of voters as there are members of the Woman Suffrage Party. It would have been too unnecessarily indiscreet.

"Your comment upon their action this year, in which you speak about their being 'very considerate,' and say that they 'conducted themselves in such a way as won commendation of the Legislature generally' is in the tones of masters commenting on inferiors! Do senators indicate to those who elect them that they will not legislate in accordance with their desires unless the conduct of such voters commends itself to them? Of course, they do not. That, likewise, would be too unnecessarily indiscreet.

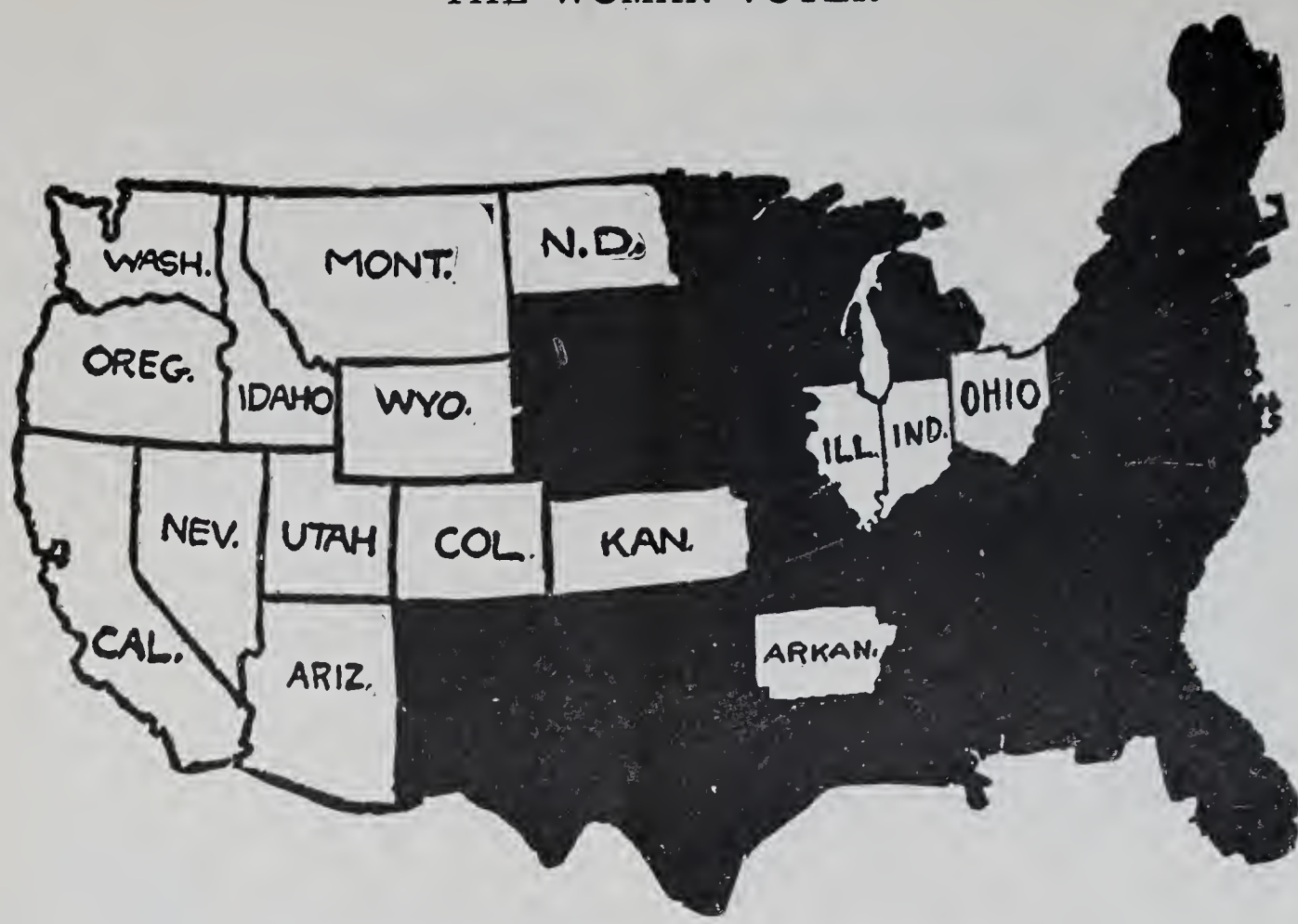
"But in your view women who are not voters must act in a way to 'commend' them to legislators even when they are seeking for themselves that which is the essence of the liberty we men inherited, namely, the ballot. If our forefathers had sought their rights only by conducting themselves in ways that commended them to the English Parliament, we would never have had the American Revolution nor the rights we enjoy. I venture to say that if the women a year ago had acted in the way you now commend, last year's legislature would not have passed their amendment."

I have quoted this letter from one of our champions somewhat at length because it seems to embody the crux of the whole truth about the situation last year. The work of the men and women of this state who believed in suffrage really assumed massive proportions and it really was that tremendous weight that finally moved the amendment out of the committee. As an example, one of the up-state districts has a record of six thousand telegrams sent during last year's season of the Legislature.

The resolution passed the Assembly on March 14th, 1916, with a vote of 109 favorable to 30 opposed. On April 11th it passed the Senate 33 to 10.

A measure which has passed one Legislature is really more than half through because its first passage carries a certain prestige with it. Nevertheless, there has been delay this year. Our amendment was introduced January 3rd, No. 1 in the Senate, No. 2 in the Assembly. There were some dilatory tactics. Finally, the Assembly Judiciary Committee reported unanimously in favor. On Tuesday, February 20th, we polled a vote on the floor of the Assembly, 127 to 10. Assemblyman Welsh of Albany introduced an impeding amendment, which after considerable work on our part, was almost unanimously defeated, Mr. Welsh himself being the only one to record his vote in favor! February 27th the Senate Judiciary Committee reported our resolution unanimously. We had some very careful plans laid which we could carry into effect in case of undefensible delay. These it was never necessary to carry out, for on Monday evening, March 12th, our resolution came up for a vote on the floor of the Senate, where it passed 39 to 7.

The whole attitude of the men has been very different from what it was last year, much more friendly and with much more understanding of our campaign and its significance. The tone of the speeches that were made in opposition was quite different from the bitter and sometimes insulting utterances that characterized the debate on the part of the little handful of our opponents in the Senate last year. The members of the Woman Suffrage Party may well have a lively realization of our organization after this long Legislative struggle. Now it is for us to use our organization power to insure our success at the polls. Our legislative work has shown that this power depends upon concerted action, upon efficiency and upon loyalty. Our hope for success is valid just because of such qualities as have been developed in our women by the very opposition we have met. Our certainty of success at the polls November 6th will be rendered sure through perfecting a unified organization in every assembly district and in every election district of our great state.



PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE MAP TO DATE

Moving Steadily Along.

"Suffrage is coming" as a slogan seems inadequate to meet the present situation. Gains follow one another so rapidly that "Suffrage is moving steadily along," describes the state of things more correctly. The revised suffrage map was just ready to go to press with Ohio waving her presidential suffrage flag next door but one to Illinois, when Indiana filled the intervening gap with presidential suffrage and a lot of other kinds of suffrage blazoned on her standard. The map was printed, and forthwith Arkansas hung her banner of primary suffrage, equivalent to full suffrage, on the outer wall. In truth suffrage is moving steadily along.

Further progress in this year of suffrage grace, 1917, which is only three months old is manifested in the following referenda for full suffrage: Maine, election to be held in September; New York, election to be held in November; South Dakota, election to be held, 1918; Oklahoma, election to be held in 1918. And the latest recruit is Vermont, which has just conferred the right of municipal suffrage upon its women.

A glance at the latest suffrage map indicates the advantageous strategic position of Arkansas; her left hand neighbor is Oklahoma, which has just declared for a referendum; across the way to the southwest is Texas, whence the primary suffrage bill originated; to the north is Missouri, which has reached the point of favorable action in the House on a presidential and municipal suffrage bill; to the east are Tennessee, where only a few "wilful" senators stood in the way, and Mississippi, which is beginning to see a glimmering of light; while directly south lies Louisiana, where day has already broken. From this centre suffrage wedges are certain to thrust their compelling force. And the happiest omen of all is the frenzied appeal, really quite noisy this time, for funds for "the defence of Democrary" from the association of women who by their own statements consider themselves unfit for citizenship.

WHERE WOMEN WILL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT.

(Electoral Vote)

Arizona	3	Nevada	3
California	13	North Dakota	5
Colorado	6	Ohio	24
Idaho	4	Oregon	5
Illinois	29	Utah	4
Indiana	15	Washington	7
Kansas	10	Wyoming	3
Montana	4		
			135

The women of Arkansas have primary presidential suffrage.

Reflections of Housewifes

Martha Wentworth Suffren

GOING to market has been, heretofore, a pleasant episode in the daily life of the housekeeper. Today it has degenerated into a sort of skirmish in "No Man's Land," where dealer and consumer struggle each to outwit the other, enshrouded in a fog bred of lack of knowledge and mutual distrust. The prices of food mount ever upward. What part of this is due to human greed, how much is the result of untoward circumstances? Let us draw a few thoughts from the market basket; where mayhap reflections may be found lurking in space once better filled with the cabbage and the onion.

Underlying the steadily mounting prices of food staples lies the undoubted fact of a shortage in crop production. Centering our interest for the moment on wheat, which is the most popular human food, we learn that Russia produces more wheat than any other country in the world; but the great war has shut her ports and railways, and in her granaries lies hoarded the surplus wheat of three years. The United States and Canada together furnish the next largest supply. In 1914 North America produced a record crop. The following year saw the record broken, the wheat fields of the Middle West and Canada piling up the stupendous measure of 1,401,000,000 bushels of the russet grain.

In 1916 real trouble began. The winter wheat sown in the fall of 1915 encountered a severe drought, so that it entered the winter in poor condition. Instead of the warm blanket of snow there came heavy rains followed by sudden, sharp frosts, which covered the wheat fields with sheets of ice, killing the young plants over millions of acres. In the hope of making up the loss, unusually large areas were sown to spring wheat, but early in July the "black rust" made its appearance throughout Minnesota, the Dakotas and the Canadian provinces, together with green bug in Oklahoma and Hessian fly in Kansas.

The crop reports for 1916 show that only about 801,000,000 bushels of wheat were harvested, a shortage for North American fields of 600,000,000 bushels. In the Argentine, similar climatic conditions prevailed. India and Australia produced only average crops. Against this world shortage must be set the unprecedented demand for food for the armies, men suddenly set aside from productive activity, consecrated to destruction, leaving the fields they might have tilled, to sow in other lands the dread seed-corn of shot and shell.

JACK'S BEANSTALK OUTDONE.

—*The Brooklyn Eagle.*

The same tale of agricultural woe may be told about the potato and other vegetable crops, which met in the growing season of 1916 a long cold spring, a mid-summer period of blazing heat and drought and premature fall frosts. The potato crop of 1916 was about 75,000,000 bushels short of the average. The corn crop was fair, and rice plentiful.

It is doubtful whether the most radical member of the Mothers' Anti-High Price League would lead a riot against Dame Nature for her share in the drama of scarcity. Rather is it the combination of dealers in the restraint of trade, the cornering of food stuffs, the unnatural methods of handling food supplies which have stirred the women beyond the point of endurance. Take this one instance for example. A car load of eggs costing on an average of 24½ cents a dozen, left Indiana for New York City in June of 1916. During the period between June and the 8th of November, five months, these eggs changed hands nine times, selling ultimately to consumers at a price from 46 to 55 cents a dozen. Yet only

twenty cases had ever been taken out of storage at all; the eggs had merely been sold on paper, each time yielding a profit to the seller, until the price was more than doubled.

There is no law in New York State which makes this sort of thing impossible. Apparently, it is even expressly sanctioned. Herbert N. Warbasse, Assistant District Attorney of Kings County, says:

"The courts permit speculators to hold for months enormous quantities of produce free from the slightest obligation to sell to citizens who offer to pay in cash. Under our court-declared law, if it were physically possible to extract oxygen from the air and store it in gigantic reservoirs, it would be quite legal to do so, and even to refuse to sell to persons who need oxygen and were willing to pay inflated prices for it to sustain life. The Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York has stated this commercial principle:

"'The refusal to maintain trade relations with any individual is an inherent right which every person may exercise lawfully, for reasons he deems sufficient or for no reasons whatever, and it is immaterial whether such refusal is based upon reason or is the result of mere caprice, prejudice or malice. It is a part of the liberty of action, which the Constitution, State and Federal, guarantee to the citizen. It is not within the power of the courts to compel an owner of property to sell or part with his title to it, without his consent and against his wishes to any particular person.' In other words, the food speculator has a court-declared right to hoard food and refuse to sell even though actuated by a malicious intent to oppress the community."

It is the old, old struggle between the rights of property and the rights of human need. Slowly the emphasis is shifting from the one to the other. There are bills before the Legislature today, sent there by the urgency of the food situation, backed by the most conservative element among public men, that ten years ago would have been thrown out as rank socialism or worse. Under the Grant-Wicks bill a State Department of Markets is proposed, representing a plan for investigating the general conditions affecting supply, distribution and price of foods, and complaints of unfair business practices, and for creating reasonably stable conditions bearing on food production, distribution and cost through governmental supervision and agency. No women sat upon the three Market Committees which sponsor the bill, nor have women been consulted as to its provisions.

LET MOTHER DO IT.

—The Woman's Century.

Australia furnishes an example of what government can do for the benefit of the people. The Commonwealth has already bought up all her wheat to prevent speculation and has long since regulated the price of staple foods. Patrick E. Quinn, Government Commissioner for New South Wales, said during his recent visit here: "Every Monday morning the prices of staples are given out. A profit is allowed for, to the producer, the wholesaler and to the retailer. Yet we sell at prices which are one-half, or less, than are paid here. We believe the government which cannot control prices for the benefit of the people is not living up to its obligations as a democracy." Women have been voting in Australia since 1902!

Turn now to our own city. Although our wharves are laved by the Atlantic Ocean and our boats are free to go up and down the strip of sea still left to us, we have lately witnessed the philanthropic absurdity of carloads of smelts being brought overland from the Pacific. They were sold for six cents a pound. Local fish dealers made protest, and were promptly asked why they could not sell smelts for the same price. They replied it was impossible since they had been "ordered" to sell at fourteen cents a pound. Query: Who did the ordering? The Joint Report of the Market Commissions tells of tons of fish being thrown away annually in New York Harbor, for the purpose of keeping up prices.

They do things differently in California. Since women won the vote a State law has been put into effect forbidding the destruction of any food material for the purpose of keeping up the price. While insufficient market facilities in New York furnish another reason for the destruction of fish, Los Angeles has opened a municipal fish market which can take care of whatever "catch" the fisherman may bring from the uncertain deep.

The Wallabout Market in Brooklyn is a good example of food supply arrangements effected by men without consultation with women. It is situated on the Erie Basin, near the Navy Yard, as far as possible from any place where women with their families could live. Placed at the utmost extremity of the city, Long Island farmers have to drive their trucks five or six miles through the city before reaching the market place. Contrast this picture. In Calgary, Alberta, Canada, when times were hard in 1914, the women looked about and discovered an old abandoned market a distance out of town. They cleaned it up, invited the farmers to bring their produce and soon had the market in full operation. On account of car fare many of the poorer women were prevented from patronizing the new enterprise. But the promoters of the market met the difficulty; the women went before the Council and asked that free tickets be given the women. The request was granted, for women had the right of suffrage in Alberta. It was probably cheaper to carry the women to the market than to bring the market nearer to the women. Recently the women of Alberta won the full franchise, and can hereafter expect to sit in the market councils of the Province.

Coming back to our own State and city, the poultry market situation in New York baffles description. At least one murder is laid at the door of the men who control it. At this writing, Commissioner Hartigan is telling of one buyer, one of the many, who has been holding thirteen car loads of live chickens on the railway sidings for a week waiting for a rising market so that poultry may be retailed at 28 to 30 cents a pound. State Commissioner Dillon is responsible for the statement that out of millions of tons of chickens sold every year in New York, about one-quarter is sand and gravel. The ingenious dealers prepare the poor birds for the market by allowing them to become hungry; then they are fed on quantities of a mixture of sand, gravel, cement, bran and pepper; after which they are given water to drink. Being thus in prime condition they are thereupon killed and offered for sale. In California where women vote, we read of the destruction of five tons of poultry in the first four months of 1916 because the birds were not up to standard.

Hundreds of instances come to us through the press of what someone has called "the far-reaching intelligence of women" in the protection of the food supply where this same intelligence is backed by political power. Production and conservation of the food for the family was doubtless originally "woman's job," and she turns back to it as a flower to the sun whenever the power to do so is in her hands. There can be no Market Department for the State of New York that will be wisely and successfully administered without the advice and authority of women. For the advice to be effectual, even for it to win recognition, it must be backed by authority. This authority women will gain by winning the Vote on November 6, 1917.

OLD ENGLISH POETS MODERNIZED

BEN JONSON.

Vote for us only with your Ayes,
  And we will pledge with ours
That when we reach that coming day
  We'll not abuse our powers.
The votes that will from justice rise
  Shine in a new dawn's ray;
Vote for us only with your Ayes
  And do not whisper nay.

SHELLEY.

The vote is too often profaned,
  For you to profane it.
True feeling too falsely disdained
  For you to disdain it.
Too stalwart by far is our Cause,
  For obsession to smother.
Man, vote for more righteous laws
  For your wife or your mother.

OMAR KHAYYAM FITZGERALD.

A booth for voting underneath the bough,
A jug of milk, a loaf of bread, and thou
Beside me, voting that the Wilderness
May blossom as a Paradise enow!

BYRON.

Men of New York, ere we part,
Give, oh, give me back my heart,
Or if that has left your breast,
Give the vote and keep the rest.
Hark! The Antis whisper low,
"Eeenie, meenie, minie, mo."

—Anna Bird Stewart, The Brooklyn Eagle.

Primary Suffrage in Arkansas

Alice Sankey Ellington

President, Arkansas Woman Suffrage Association

IN a state where there is one dominant party, the primary decides the issue; the election is a mere formality. Such a state is Arkansas. For years this condition appeared to be our Waterloo and, to make suffrage a political issue, under such circumstances, seemed impossible.

However, nothing is **impossible** where the spirit of Progress invades the country, or where a cause has such a friend as Judge Rogers, of Texarkana, Texas. His judicial mind not only grasped the injustice to women, but his progressive spirit conceived a way to give a modern interpretation to an obsolete bill, and thus the Primary Suffrage Bill was born.

The casual visitor to Texarkana would not know that one side of Broad Street is in Texas and the other side is in Arkansas; but Judge Rogers lives on the Texas side of the street and the enfranchised women live on the Arkansas side.

The Primary Bill passed by the Arkansas Legislature is a copy of the bill introduced in Texas by Senator Latamore of Fort Worth and simply changes one section of the present primary law so as to include women. As drawn up, the bill read as follows:

A Bill for an Act to be entitled, "An Act to provide that Women may vote in all Primary Elections in Arkansas, prescribing Qualifications and declaring an Emergency."

BE IT ENACTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF ARKANSAS:

Section 1.

From and after the passage of this Act, and subject to all provisions of the laws of this State as to age, residence, citizenship, payment of poll taxes, and otherwise regulating the manner and form of holding same; but specially exempt from every disqualification, direct or indirect, on account of sex, every woman in this State shall have the right to vote at any primary elections held under the laws of this State.

Section 2.

All laws and parts of laws in conflict with this Act are hereby repealed and this act being necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health and safety, an emergency is hereby declared to exist and this Act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

The State Constitution provides for elections, any change in the electorate would necessitate a Constitutional amendment; but the primaries are the creation of the Legislature (to meet a certain condition) and therefore may be changed by a bill requiring only a simple majority in both House and Senate. The use of the Primary Law by the suffragists to secure their partial political freedom, proves again the fact that the "world moves."

Representative John A. Riggs, of Hot Springs, one of the most progressive newspaper men in the State, introduced the Bill in the House and a few days later Senator George W. Garrett introduced a similar bill in the Senate, leaving out the poll tax. When the Riggs bill became a law, the Garrett bill was withdrawn. The Riggs bill passed the House by a vote of 70 to 19, then went to the Senate, was read twice and referred to the elections committee, a committee very much opposed to suffrage. There it rested for ten days in spite of all that could be done to get it reported back to the Senate. By a rule which forbids a committee from keeping a bill longer than ten days we got our measure out on the tenth day with amendments attached recommended by the Committee. These amendments removed the emergency clause and gave judges the power to require applicants to swear allegiance to the party in whose primary they should offer to vote.

These amendments were put in to cause delay and the possible failure of ratification in the House. But the Suffrage Association accepted the amendments and the Senate passed the Bill, 17 to 15, after the bitterest fight of the session in which excitement reigned from 2 to 4.30 P. M., while the political freedom of women was under discussion. At 8 P. M. the same body with absolute quiet and order discussed the political freedom of their two indicted members. The suffragists had a splendid example to prove that political power brings respect.

The Bill went back to the House with the Senate amendments for ratification accompanied by the opposition in the Senate. There a handful of men filibustered for two hours trying to defeat the will of the large majority. However, when the final roll call came the vote stood 56 to 26. The same night Governor Brough signed the Act at an enormous mass meeting and announced that he would use all his power to have full suffrage included in the convention to adopt a new Constitution to be called at Little Rock in November, 1917.

The Woman Farmer and Farming

Ruth Litt

THE proof that women are both physically and mentally capable of managing farms and producing satisfactory results has been fully established by numerous experiences recounted by returned travelers and by magazine and newspaper correspondents in the belligerent countries. The exigencies of war have brought these women farmers very much in the public eye, and they deserve all praise for the service they are giving their respective countries.

Investigation into conditions in our own country would also have established the fact that women here have taken up agricultural work. It would have been found in the Eastern States that many women are conducting poultry and squab farms, or are specializing in raising certain varieties of early vegetables and small fruits. In the Western States are many instances of women managing farms and ranches on a large scale.

And if the need should arise can any one question that our women would be any less patriotic than their farmer sisters in Europe.

Personally, farming in a small way has always appealed to me as a vocation for women, and I mean for the woman who must earn her way as well as for the women with an income who goes into farming as an investment. Note that I say "a vocation" for women, not an amusement, for farming like everything else worth while demands good, hard, honest, effort. In spite of much good-humored raillery and some criticism from my friends I have backed my belief by running a farm on practical lines. I have been amply repaid, and have demonstrated the worth of my attempt. Because I so strongly believe that farm life offers a field of occupation for women, I give here a little of my own experience.

My farming experience has been that of the woman with the income to whom the initial investment was not a hardship. I have had my farm for twelve years, and in the early days I did much of the superintending and some of the actual work myself, as it was difficult to find a superintendent who quite fitted in with my views. We always fell out over the proposition that it was the **farm** that was to be superintended and not the owner. Two or three men did the plowing, heavy hauling and planting. I took care of the greenhouses, started all the seeds, propagated the plants for the flower gardens and planted a good part of them myself. I also raised vegetables for table use in the greenhouses, so my knowledge is practical, not theory or "book learning" as one of my men put it.

During the starting period I would have given much to have been able to secure a good practical, sensible woman to carry out my ideas. The difficulty with most men is that they scorn the little details which to my mind are so essential to perfection in every line of work. For example, a woman will be more successful in raising chickens than a man, because she will take special care of little chicks showing a tendency to slow growth, and will, as a rule, bring them around all right, while a man will dispose of such weaklings by wringing their necks. Then too, a woman brings her housekeeping instincts into the care of the chicken houses, keeping them clean and wholesome, and seeing to it that the chickens get fresh drinking water several times a day, and warm feed in cold weather. The man does the "chores" in the morning, and that goes until night, he has "no time to fuss." In such contingency the moral is don't keep chickens, they are a liability, not an asset.

We have about thirty acres under cultivation and this includes hay and corn land for the stock, and vegetable gardens of perhaps two acres producing all varieties of vegetables except cauliflowers, which we cannot raise, because we are too near the salt water. Our specialties are asparagus, potatoes (the word ought to be spelled with a capital these days) small fruits such as strawberries, raspberries, currants and blackberries, and apples, peaches and grapes. We raise under glass all the fresh vegetables we can possibly use for the table during the winter. A part of our products is

preserved as jellies and jams and as canned vegetables.

We handle our plant on a practical basis,—no blooded stock, just two good cows, two farm horses and a small flock of chickens. We expect a sufficient supply of milk, cream, eggs and chickens for our table. We must have just so much return for time and money expended. If the balance at the end of the month is not just what it should be, we look for the cause and remove it by changing our plans or by doing away with whatever necessitates extra expense or labor. Of course we have grumbled a good deal this season about the price of coal but on the other hand we have congratulated ourselves that the H. C. of L. has not affected us except in the items of coal and beef.

Now a word about the woman without the income, and her chance in farm work. Her opportunity comes by first acquiring knowledge and some experience at one of our free agricultural colleges, or by practical work on a farm or estate under a competent gardener. The latter method commends itself to my way of thinking. Then having obtained her training, she may begin by securing a position on some large farm, adding to her knowledge and progress until she is fitted for the management and practical handling of one of the many large plants that are crying out for efficient, economical help. The salary from such position is ample, a good house with modern comforts is provided, with heat, light, running water, the garden supplies the table, leaving only the staples to be purchased. Prudent savings from the income will in due course of time enable the woman superintendent to start a plant of her own on a moderate scale. Such position certainly offers an ideal life to the woman who really loves out doors, who rejoices in raising the means of life, and in winning victory in the tussle with the soil.

Besides opening a new avenue of work for women, I believe one of the great questions of the day is getting the youth of our country interested in practical farming. The constant complaint is the dearth of farm labor, and of the poor quality of the work of a large percentage of farm laborers. I believe one remedy for this condition is the establishment in every rural school of an agricultural course which should be just as much a part of the curriculum as history or mathematics. Above all things this course should be made interesting and appealing to the young mind.

In our own district school, I call the boys and girls after they have reached their thirteenth year just "clock watchers." They have lost all interest in their work and just watch the clock until the fourteenth birthday comes around, when they may leave school and go to work in shops and factories in city or town. Perhaps it is not so much a desire for the work itself as a chance to get out of the dull round of lessons which do not seem to lead anywhere. In this school and in every school like it, I wish there might be a department for teaching the first principles of agriculture, to boys and girls alike. There need be no trouble in procuring a suitable piece of land, and a resourceful teacher who knew his or her subject could make the instruction so interesting, could rouse such a spirit of friendly rivalry, that the children would find it worth while to remain until their sixteenth year and would graduate with some practical knowledge and with an understanding of the dignity and worth of agricultural work. The result of such a system would be to bring gradually under cultivation all our waste land, and there are thousands of acres of it on Long Island, so there might be never again any question of food supply for our fast growing population.

A beginning has been made in this direction in establishing a garden in a small way for the older children in the school I have named. If possible the garden will be continued through the summer, for our summer colonies provide a market for fresh vegetables. It is only a question of securing the co-operation of the parents and the children, the result is obvious. Again my suffrage work has brought me into very close contact with the home problems of the large foreign group in my community. Racially they are an agricultural people, but without training in systematic methods. Consequently they do not get out of their own garden patches, when they cultivate them, results equal to the labor expended. They do not understand how to utilize a back yard. Every rural community has just such groups, they are here to stay. They need help to enable them to do well the thing for which they have hereditary inclination. That help we can give them through their children by the agricultural course I so strongly advocate. When these parents see results, they will be quite ready to accept the practical lessons passed along by those whose interest has been aroused and stimulated and who are "clock watchers" no more.

Launching the Campaign

THE man who runs the Weather Bureau looked over his list of assorted storms on March 27th and selected the rainiest, windiest, night in the collection as a contribution to the meeting of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party held that evening at Aeolian Hall. Not that the storm mattered much: it affected only slightly the size of the audience, and in no degree diminished the enthusiasm of over fifteen hundred good suffragists.

The purpose of the meeting was two fold,—to start officially an aggressive campaign to carry the State triumphantly next November, and to hold a jollification over the recent victories in Ohio and Indiana. Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Chairman of the City Party, presided, and after the entire audience, all standing, had sung America, to organ accompaniment, the well-loved leader told her constituents a few things. Taking the weather as an opening text, Miss Hay said suffragists would have to ignore wind and rain and summer heat from the present moment on until the polls closed on Election Day.

The first speaker introduced was Mrs. Raymond Robins, of Chicago, presented as an example of a woman voter. Mrs. Robins spoke forcefully of the moral obligation which should be the underlying motive in casting the ballot. In speaking of the great alien population of her city, Mrs. Robins gave an experience in her work for social welfare in which a thousand girls of foreign birth had been brought to the realization of the greatness of Americanism.

Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, president of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association, described the winning of Presidential suffrage in her State, and jollification began then and there. In telling how to handle a legislature, Mrs. Upton advised:

"Never be afraid to ask for anything. Sometimes, by asking for a whole lot, you shock 'em so they give it to you. That's what we did. When we had the members of the Legislature canvassed, so we knew who our friends were, we just calmly sent telegrams to the party leaders and said. 'Please appoint the following members to the Committee on Federal Relations.' The following were twenty men who were our friends. Now, the Federal committee never amounted to much ordinarily, and, of course, they didn't know that we were planning to spring our Presidential suffrage bill and that it would have to go before that committee, so the party leaders did just what we told them to do, and we got a favorable report from the committee.

"The next trouble we had was with antis. Now, we never had met many of them before, but the critical day our bill came up, the place was full of anti-suffrage ladies. I'll never forget the leader of them. She had rings on, and she had beautiful hands, and she kept waving them gracefully, you know, all the time, until I thought to myself, 'Oh, goodness, I wish I had thought to wear my rings, but I've been so busy thinking about this vote I never thought of rings.' Well, I was pretty miserable, until an old farmer poked my back.

" 'Say,' he whispered, 'is she a brewer's wife?' Then I got sensible again, and decided it wasn't rings that mattered, but votes."

Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, Chairman of the State Suffrage Party, was introduced next by Miss Hay as "The Major-General who would lead us all to victory." Mrs. Whitehouse made a short address concluding with the prediction, "With public sentiment overwhelmingly in our favor, it seems certain that next November 6 we shall add forty-five electoral votes to the 135 which now come from the States where women vote.

Mrs. Felix T. McWhirter of Indiana told how the women of their State won Presidential suffrage. The indorsement of the political parties had a tremendous influence on the legislators, making them feel morally obliged to live up to the promises of their parties.

The last speaker was Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who reviewed the immense progress of the suffrage movement since the war began and instanced the extension in Canada, the awakening in Yucatan, the election of a woman to the constitutional assembly of Mexico. After praising the sacrifices made by the women of Russia in the long struggle for freedom, Mrs. Catt concluded:

"Universal suffrage is coming, the triumph of Democracy is at hand. Suffrage is coming, no power on earth can stop it.

"The vote is coming to the women of Russia, to the women of Canada, to the women of France and to the women of England—coming as a result of their war services. We women here in America are asking America to do a little better and to give women the vote before the war begins. We ask it as a war measure. We ask it that women may have the feeling that they have been recognized as assets of the nation before that nation falls back upon them for war services."

The singing of The Star-Spangled Banner brought to a close a meeting unmatched in inspiration and enthusiasm.

Ready If Needed

AT a special meeting held on March 20th the City Committee authorized the Board of Directors to open the city and borough headquarters to members of the Party who wish to enroll through their own organization for national service "in case of need."

In accordance with this decision, a committee has been appointed to take charge of this particular work and **to raise and expend whatever funds may be needed.** The committee comprises Mrs. F. Louis Slade, chairman; Mrs. Thomas B. Wells, Manhattan; Mrs. Alice Parker Hutchins, Brooklyn; Mrs. Louis Reed Welzmiller, Bronx; Miss Eliza MacDonald, Queens; Mrs. Charles E. Simonson, Richmond, vice-chairmen; Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, Mrs. Willard Straight, Mrs. Victor Morawetz, Mrs. Learned Hand, Mrs. V. Everitt Macy, Mrs. S. Nutting and Mrs. Herbert L. Pratt, treasurer. Through the efforts of Mrs. F. Louis Slade, money has been raised for immediate expenses. An enrollment blank affords the applicant opportunity to state what branch of work she prefers; if she has no choice, there are suggestions such as census taking, office work, motor driving, social welfare, etc. In all cases women will be directed to the organization covering the particular kind of service they prefer. Another blank provides for a record of resources which will be indexed and placed on file.

By dint of active work the Committee was able to open the reception room of 50 East 34th street as an enrollment station on Thursday morning, March 22nd. A sandwich bulletin board, gayly lettered in blue and yellow and headed with a placard bearing our slogan, "Suffrage is Coming in 1917" was placed near the entrance to No. 50. It had not been long in position when the first applicant entered. Each day since there has been a steady stream of women coming in to record themselves as ready for service if they are needed. A list of "resources" to be placed at the disposition of the proper authorities is already on file.

Every woman, not already a suffragist, who comes in to enroll, invariably lingers to ask for information about the suffrage movement, and the result in almost every instance is that she asks to sign the *white suffrage blank* that she may be counted among those who believe the vote should be given to the women of the State.

It must be fully understood that while making preparations for service in case of need, the Party has no intention of laying aside its constructive plan to carry the suffrage campaign to victory in November, and to secure the vote "as the right protective of all rights." Therefore, in borough, assembly district and election district, we shall continue our efforts. If the call to active service comes we shall simply work harder.

Entertainment and Propaganda

A PATHESCOPE moving picture machine, no larger than a dress suit case, operated electrically and turned by hand, is now in the possession of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City. This announcement does not mean that the Party intends to abandon suffrage work and go into the "movie" business. The machine is only another instrument of propaganda and incidental revenue in the assembly districts where entertainments are given. The outfit is complete in every particular, an eight-foot screen, an operator and films for a popular program, which includes Mary Pickford in a two-reel thriller entitled "Isola's Promise." Besides this, Frank Daniels will be shown in a side-splitting two-reel comedy called "Captain Jinks's Baby," and it is some baby!

Between the display of these two film stars, the bright star of Suffrage will shine forth from stereopticon slides showing in a new and effective manner, why women should have the vote. While these slides are being shown, short and informal talks will be given in explanation of the pictures.

There is no expense attached to the loan of the machine. Districts can charge an admission fee of not less than ten cents and thus add to their treasuries while doing good suffrage work. But, hark ye, leaders! Book your orders for use of the machine at once with Mrs. J. R. Fairchild, 48 East 34th St., for even now there is a rush for first place.

With Our Allies—the Antis

For the best "pearl" sent each month we will give a year's subscription to The Woman Voter.

Prize Pearl

Voiceless Speech.

"The silent woman is an Anti-Suffragist."
—*The Woman's Protest.*

780 B. C.

"The wise man's wisdom is our strength,
The woman's wisdom is our bane,
The men build up the city walls
For women to tear down again.
No man from any woman's wit
Hath yet learned aught of any worth,
For wise is she but unto all,
To bring disorder on the earth.
What does she in affairs of state?
Her place is in the inner room.
Her wisdom doth least hurt in this,
To mind the silkworm and the loom."
—*"Lyrics from the Chinese." Translated by Helen Waddell.*

* * *

1916 A. D.

"I love, honor and respect woman. I recognize her in many ways as the superior of man. She peoples the earth with men, the heavens with stars, and the sea with living things. I recognize her as great and noble in the sphere which is hers by nature and the consent of man."

—*Senator Elon Brown.*

* * *

A Year Later.

"Woman suffrage conflicts with my ideals of manhood and womanhood. Among the qualities of the ideal man is the reserve force to save and protect women and children from the aggressor. This reserve force is not found among the qualities of the ideal woman, but in its stead are grace, beauty, and motherhood and marriage to the protector to whom life is worthless if he cannot save her and her children from the aggressor.

"Another serious feature of the proposal is its effect on the birth rate. American families, as we all know, have few children, often none. This is distinctly traceable to the present obligations of women."

—*Senator Elon Brown.*

* * *

Vox Dei and The Majority.

"If the voice of the people is the voice of God, then God has spoken most decisively against giving women in this State the ballot."

—*Senator Bernard Downing.*

An Anti's Conviction.

The woman who wouldn't sign gave as reason "because women had too much already." In the office where her husband worked—and he only got fifteen dollars—there was a woman who got thirty-five dollars! "What can a woman do with thirty-five dollars a week?"

—*Notebook of a Canvasser.*

* * *

Land of the Pilgrims' Pride.

The question, "Aren't women people?" which is considered such a poser by the suffragists, has been answered in the negative by the Massachusetts legislature, which refuses to construe the word "people," as used in the act providing for a constitutional amendment, to include women.

—*Anti-Suffrage Notes.*

* * *

Speaking of Protection.

But among the Woman Suffragists there exists a more and more far-reaching inclination to consider the children as theirs. In one of the addresses which reached our Parliament I read that the women also want the vote "to protect themselves and their children." As if the children no longer belong to their fathers!

—*Mr. Beumer in the Dutch Parliament.*

* * *

Woman's Place Not the Movies.

Neighbor—Does your man take you to the movies?

She—Not much. Time I get my dishes washed and the house rid up and the babies to bed and the children's clothes mended, I'm dead for sleep. And, besides, you know, he's so busy agitatin' for the eight-hour day.

* * *

Westward Ho!

The Presidential suffrage bill in Indiana was pushed by representatives of the following organizations of Indiana women: The Federation of Clubs, the Mothers' Congress, the Consumers' League, the Women's Press Club, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, the Woman's Relief Corps, and two great suffrage organizations.

Yet an anti-suffrage lady went all the way from New York to tell the Indiana Legislature that Indiana women did not want the vote.

—*Alice Duer Miller, The Tribune.*

The Woman Suffrage Party of New York City

Edited by

Adaline W. Sterling

CITY COMMITTEE MEETING,
Monday, April 2nd at 10 A. M.

THE plan in Manhattan of group headquarters with a campaign aide in charge of each is working out most successfully. There are seven such headquarters at the present writing, called respectively, Greenwich, Clinton Hall, Chelsea, Murray Hill, Yorkville, Washington Heights, and Lenox. Besides the assembly districts thus grouped are the specially strong districts,—the 12th, 15th, 17th, 19th, 25th, 27th, and 29th, all of which already have or will have in the near future, individual headquarters. The banner districts in completing the enrollment of women are the 25th, the 19th, the 15th and 17th. The largest number of enrollments was assigned to the 19th district, and in this as in the other districts the work has been done with a goodly number over.

The 5th Assembly District is forging ahead in interest and work, and both expects and intends to carry the vote in November. On March 17th the shamrock was in evidence at a meeting in district headquarters, 321 West 14th street. Mrs. William P. Cunningham presided. The attendance was large; the speakers were Miss Lenora O'Reilly and Miss Margaret Hinchey, whose addresses fully deserved the applause they received.

The 1st Assembly District has held two district meetings during the month and also a meeting in the Syrian district. Captains are at work canvassing their districts. Headquarters will be opened as soon as a suitable place has been found.

Clinton Hall headquarters reports a meeting at Madison House at which a suffrage speaker addressed the Ladies' Waist Makers Union, Local 25, and also speaking before four classes in P. S. No. 147. A Woman's Rally was held at Clinton Hall on March 24th which was a big affair, and as enthusiastic as it was large. The speakers were Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, Miss Lillian D. Wald, Miss Olive M. Jones and Miss Rose Schneiderman.

Chelsea group had a housewarming at Headquarters, 320 West 42nd street on March 15th. Short addresses were made by Mrs. Zimmerman, of the 9th A. D., Mrs. Withrow, leader of the 11th A. D., and Mrs. Parisen, leader of the 13th A. D. The speaker of the evening was Mrs. John Humphrey Watkins, Borough Chairman, who was followed by Mrs. Spaulding, of Tarrytown, who related her conversion to suffrage. It is planned to hold open meetings once a month.

The story from Murray Hill headquarters, is of a housewarming at 407 Lexington Avenue, at which Mr. MacAlarney, member of the Democratic Committee, occupied the chair. Speeches were made by Mrs. Watkins and by Prof. Shotwell, of the Department of History, Columbia University. Refreshments were served after the exercises and sociability was the next order of the evening. Enrollments are being secured in most satisfactory numbers, and additions are being made to the roll of captains.

Yorkville headquarters presents a very businesslike appearance, the banners of the three districts belonging to the group, the 20th the 22nd, and the 24th, are displayed on the walls, charts show just how the work of enrollment is proceeding, each captain's accomplishment is down in black and white, and suffrage colors are everywhere. A suffrage school has been organized with a number of pupils, captains' meetings are held regularly, and a social evening is a weekly feature. On March 22nd a large open meeting was held and as an attraction there was a guessing contest. Prizes were awarded for the largest number of correct answers to a series of suffrage questions. Three members were tied for first prize and the difficulty was solved by each receiving a prize. There was no division of the second prize. The speaker was Miss Sterling who spoke on the "High Cost of Living," and did not regard with particular favor the articles of food recommended by the Mayor's committee, especially smelts from the Pacific coast when there were perfectly good fish of the same variety swimming in the Atlantic within easy reach.

A reception was given to the Borough Chairman, Mrs. Watkins on March 1st by the 21st A. D., at Washington Heights Headquarters. On March 12th the colored section of the district held a crowded meeting in the assembly hall of Public School, No. 89. The speakers were Miss Matthews, leader; Mr. Belden, and ex-Assemblyman Manning of Alabama. The 23rd A. D. held an open meeting at headquarters, 346 West 145th street on March 8th, at which new voting members and new workers were secured.

In the Lenox group there is great and successful activity in the matter of enrolling the women of the districts comprising this group. Arrangements are under way to present suffrage slides in the moving picture theatres of the districts.

The 12th A. D. has held four meetings during the past month in the Friends' School house and at the home of the leader, 17 Livingston Place. The work of enrollments is being pushed to completion.

Having secured more than the number of women's enrollments assigned, the 15th A. D. is now turning its attention to the men of the district. A meeting was held at the home of the leader on March 1st which was addressed by Miss Mary Garrett Hay, and a second meeting took place on the afternoon of March 21st at the residence of Mrs. Richard Aldrich, at which Mrs. Frederick Nathan, Mrs. J. H. Watkins and Mrs. Aldrich, were the speakers. A card party held at the Hotel Marie Antoinette on March 15th, netted the sum of $100 for the district treasury.

The ball given by the 17th A. D., at the Hotel Marseilles on March 2nd was a great success, about three hundred and fifty guests being present, among these were Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Mary G. Hay, Miss Katherine D. Blake and other well-known residents of the district. A mass meeting was held at St. Michael's Parish House, 99th street and Amsterdam avenue, on March 29th at 8 P. M., at which the speakers were the State Chairman, Mrs. Whitehouse, the Borough Chairman, Mrs. Watkins and the City Chairman, Miss Hay.

The principal event of the month in the 19th A. D. was the reception at the Monongahela Democratic Club on the evening of March 9th. The invitations

were extended to men and women and were so generally accepted that all available space was occupied. Speeches were made by Hon. William Harmon Black, Mr. Maurice Deiches, president of the club, Miss Mary Garrett Hay and Mrs. John Humphrey Watkins. Miss Sterling, former district leader, also made a few remarks. Music was furnished by a stringed quartette. Refreshments, home made in kind, and prodigal in quantity, were served, demonstrating that the suffragists of the district are good cooks and good providers. Mr. Deiches, president of the club, extended the hospitality of the building to the district at any time, and also gave an invitation for auxiliary membership.

The Saturday evening Chelsea dances in the 25th A. D., have attracted many visitors, among them, Assemblyman Marsh, whose suffrage proclivities are not marked, but who is a promising subject for conversion. A tea to Republican politicians at the home of the leader was the means of establishing friendly relations between these gentlemen and Mrs. Cunningham, leader of the 5th A. D. Congressman Jeanette Rankin was also a guest at one of the dances. The district has been putting money in its purse to the extent of some $100. Mrs. Florence Howe Hall spoke at the Community Club, of the Washington Square M. E. Church on March 4th. Weekly canvassing parties to enroll voters are now a feature of the district work and are conducted along the lines employed in the 1915 campaign.

BROOKLYN Borough made a most creditable essay in journalism in the suffrage edition of the Brooklyn Eagle on March 7th. Mrs. H. Edward Dreier was editor-in-chief, and among her contributors were numbered prominent professional men, social workers, teachers, and district leaders. The borough has sundry important plans in course of development which will make interesting reading in the next issue of The Voter.

Undoubtedly all the assembly districts have been busily engaged in suffrage work during the past month, though but few leaders have responded to the request of The Woman Voter for district news. Mrs. Edmund O'Connor's report of activities in the 9th Assembly District, includes the following meetings: An Organization Meeting held at the South Branch Public Library on Thursday evening, March 8th; on Monday evening, March 12th the Sunset Suffrage Club met at 453 51st street with Mrs. H. Read presiding; the Bay Ridge Suffrage Club held a meeting on Friday afternoon, March 30th, at 218 9th street under the direction of Mrs. E. W. Boyce. The district is engaged in raising money by a plan of penny-a-day pledges. Among the suffragists attending club meetings to obtain white enrollment blanks were Bethesda Union, Day Star Chapter, Choral Club-Social Centre, Mothers' Club, Public School No. 2, and Mothers' Club, Public School No. 136.

A very encouraging report comes from the 12th Assembly District, Miss Adele A. Frank, leader. An enthusiastic meeting was held on the evening of March 6th at the Prospect Branch Public Library, with an attendance of over two hundred. The speakers were Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. H. Edward Dreier, Borough Chairman, and Miss Louise Connolly, of the Newark Public Library. Many enrollments were taken and several workers were secured. Literature was distributed. "Votes for Women" buttons were given away, and (this appeals particularly to the editorial heart) fifty copies of The Woman Voter were sold, and there was a demand for more. On Monday, March 12th, at the regular meeting of the Rector's Aid Society of All Saints' Church, 7th Avenue and 7th street, Miss Eva S. Potter and Miss Adele A. Frank, made suffrage addresses. As a result three-fourths of those present enrolled for suffrage; of the remaining one-fourth the larger part were already enrolled. Workers were also secured.

The district is making efforts to get speakers into ready-made meetings at least once a week. During the missions held during men's and women's mission weeks the leaflet called "Catholic Opinions" was distributed to the congregations leaving the Catholic churches. The district has subscribed for The Voter to be sent to the local politicians.

The 16th Assembly District has held two public meetings during the past month. On March 15th a meeting was held at 3 P. M. in Public School No. 98, at which Miss Charlotte Smith was the speaker. The second was held at the Lefferts Avenue Presbyterian Church on March 22nd and was addressed by Mrs. E. Whitaker.

The largest assemblage of the month was the mass meeting held by the 4th and 21st districts at the Eastern District High School on the evening of March 16th. Fully one thousand persons were in attendance. Miss Mary Garrett Hay, City Chairman, presided and opened the meeting with a short but forceful address and then presented the speakers, who were Miss Leonora O'Reilly on "The Working Woman"; Assemblyman Joseph H. Whitehorn, who spoke of "High Cost of Living". Miss Bessie Kolnick gave an amusing monologue. The last speaker who arrived quite late was Rabbi Nathan Krass, whose topic was "What it Means." It was a big meeting, an enthusiastic meeting, and a late meeting, as the clock recorded, but everybody stayed until the end.

ORGANIZATION has been a marked feature of Queens Borough work during the month. Organizers have been hard at work in the Rockaways and Ridgewood, and in the 2nd Assembly District Mrs. Mainland has addressed Church Societies and Mothers' Clubs in Corona and Elmhurst. The 1st Assembly District held a successful meeting at the Commercial Business School, Long Island City, on March 9th.

On March 17th a Captains' Tea was held at Borough Headquarters. In spite of the exceedingly rainy day, there was a good attendance. Mrs. George Notman, of Brooklyn, and Miss Ethel Stebbins, of Manhattan, were the speakers and their addresses were so inspiring that several of those present volunteered to serve as captains. The Morris Park Club held a cake and utility sale on March 24th at Headquarters which was a financial success.

A course of three free lectures on successive Tuesday evenings at Headquarters was opened on March 20th, when Mrs. Frances Brewer spoke on "Suffrage History Up to Date." The second lecture was given on the 27th with Miss Jane Thompson as speaker; her subject was "The Suffrage Argument." The concluding lecture of the course will be given on the 3rd of this month by Dr. Louis S. Friedland, who will tell "How to Work for Suffrage."

THE active 1917 campaign in the Bronx practically began on February 1st, with a constructive program. The first thing was to wipe the slate clean of all captains who were not doing good work, and to begin a search for others. At the end of a month's work a total of ninety captains, over a fourth of what we need, was secured and started in to organize groups to canvass their election districts. Before the strenuous days of early summer arrive every election district will have its captain and group of workers who will interview every registered voter in the district.

The Suffrage Exchange Bureau is proving an efficient aid, and has started a library of its own. The Bureau is also tabulating a series of books for the use of speakers. One of the duties of this branch is to investigate every statement made by anti-suffragists and to place itself in position to refute these statements.

Meetings have been held in all the districts, and vigorous canvassing bees have added many names to our list of enrollments. Our files have been cleared of names of persons removed from the borough since the 1915 campaign, so that our records are up to date.

A very pleasant informal reception was given on March 9th to Mrs. Daniel Appleton Palmer, and the Executive Board of the Borough, at Headquarters. The hostesses were Mrs. J. Dawson, Miss Alice Conklin, Miss Frances Morrison, Mrs. J. R. Small, Miss Elizabeth Hoagland and Mrs. Thomas Martin. In co-operation with the Teachers' Section of the State Woman Suffrage Party, a Suffrage Study Course, to consist of five lessons, on Thursday evenings, was begun at Headquarters on March 15th. The speakers were Miss Katherine Devereux Blake, whose topic was "Suffrage History and Arguments," and Walter L. Hervey, Ph.D., on "Why Women in the Home Need the Ballot." The second session was held on March 22nd, when Mrs. Louis R. Welzmiller spoke on "Suffrage as an Ideal." Mrs. Welzmiller was followed by Dr. Arthur J. O'Leary, who refuted anti-suffrage statements in his address on "Biological Reasons for Suffrage." Mrs. Margaret Chandler Aldrich and Louis S. Friedland conducted the third meeting on March 29th, the former making an admirable presentation of "Moral Force of Suffrage," and the latter giving a valuable lesson in "Organization and Political Method."

DURING the winter the Woman Suffrage Party of Richmond Borough wrote to all the women's organizations on Staten Island asking permission to appear before them and to state the Suffrage cause in a manner so plain as to penetrate the prejudice of the most conservative anti. The meetings held in February were in response to this request.

At the meeting of one especially conservative body, where the majority of the women had looked upon the speaker with cold, unsympathetic eyes, one little lady who is a good suffragist came up after the meeting was over and said: "Oh, if only you would talk that way to anti-suffragists, you couldn't help but convert them!" The answer came, quick and truthful: "You and one other woman were the only suffragists present!"

The meetings of the mothers' clubs have been especially productive of signatures, sympathy and helpfulness. The relations between the women and the speakers were most cordial and pleasant in spite, on one occasion, of the distracting howls of a restless baby. These mothers' club meetings in the public schools, addressed by simple, friendly, motherly women, are the surest way to reach the heart and the understanding of the mothers of the community.

At one meeting of the Girls' Friendly Society, when a speaker had been talking of the relations of Suffrage to the high cost of living to a group of mixed adults and young people, an eager, round-eyed little boy piped up when the time for questions came: "Are you eating potatoes at your house?" The answer came just as pat: "Yes, we have them for dessert!"

At another meeting of suffragists and workers in a largely Italian district, a big brown-eyed Italian woman took the speaker by the hand and said: "I am so glad to know you; I can go home now and talk to my husband and tell him the rich ladies don't want the vote for themselves only; they want it for the poor women and the women who work in the factories. You couldn't talk to him but I can; now I know what you want me to say."

At a very conservative meeting of comfortable, well-fed, well-dressed, well-housed ladies, after the speaker had made the best plea she knew how for the working woman and the factory girl, for the poor and the oppressed who need the women's influence and help, one dear, comfortable little lady spoke up and said: "Why, don't you think things are a great deal better than they used to be?" This is the class of women that the Richmond suffragists have been meeting during the month.

At the furthermost end of Staten Island, in Tottenville, the suffragists recently raised a small sum of money by a cake and food sale. Great interest was shown and the women outdid themselves in their pies, cakes and bread. Not the women alone of Tottenville were roused to effort, but one perfectly good, whole-hearted suffrage man made two superfine loaves of bread which sold at the extravagant price of eighteen cents apiece. Such it is to have help from the stronger sex!

Five meetings have been addressed in the District, and eight hundred enrollments of women have been taken. Letters have been sent to all the captains asking them to stand by the Party in the offer of service to the Government, and out of the forty replies, thirty-eight were in the affirmative. There have also been received good bona fide offers of service in case the work of women should be needed in the event of war. These are being carefully indexed for reference.

WHICH DISTRICTS WILL WIN THEM?

Two prizes of $30 and $20 each, to be known as the J. C. T. prize, have been offered by a member of the 25th Assembly District. The object is to stimulate competition in the nine assembly districts of Manhattan in the $200 class, that is the districts to which the raising of that amount for district campaign work has been assigned. The first of these districts which by entertainments or other means raises $170 by May 15th will receive the first prize which will complete the amount assigned. The second district will have to raise $180 and will receive $20 to complete its amount. So get to work, and see which of the nine will be winners.

Calendar

April 2nd—Meeting of the City Committee, 48 East 34th Street, Manhattan, 10 A. M.

Public Meeting, 12th Assembly District, Brooklyn. Prospect Branch Library, 6th Ave. and 9th St., 8 P. M.

Public Meeting, 22nd Assembly District, Brooklyn. East Branch Public Library, Arlington Ave., 8 P. M.

Suffrage Movies. Dress Rehearsal, 48 East 34th St. 8 P. M. Admission free. Collection taken.

April 3rd—Lecture, "How to Work for Suffrage," Dr. Louis S. Friedland. Queens Borough Headquarters, Jamaica and Guion Aves., Richmond Hill, 8 P. M.

Suffrage Movies. Dress Rehearsal, 48 East 34th St. 8 P. M. Admission free. Collection taken.

April 4th—Suffrage Movies. Dress Rehearsal, 48 East 34th St. 8 P. M. Admission free. Collection taken.

April 5th—Suffrage Training School, 48 East 34th St., 4 P. M. Speakers. "Organization and Political Methods," Maurice Deiches; "Public Speaking," Mrs. Beatrice Forbes Robertson Hale; "Current Events," B. R. Baumgardt.

Meeting, 15th District, Manhattan, 130 W. 74th St., 8 P. M. Speaker: Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw.

At Home, 27th Assembly District, Manhattan, 48 East 34th St., 8 P. M. Speaking and Music.

April 10th—Modern Circle Mass Meeting, 22nd Assembly District, Brooklyn. Roosevelt Casino, 8 P. M. Speakers: Miss Bertha Irish and others.

April 11th—Ball, 19th Assembly District, Manhattan. Hotel Marseilles, 103rd St. and Broadway, 8.30 P. M. Tickets, $1, to be obtained from Mrs. R. T. Oliver, 211 W. 101st St.

April 12th—Public Meeting, 16th Assembly District, Brooklyn. Public School, No. 131, 44th St. and Fort Hamilton Ave., 3.15 P. M. Speaker: Mrs. G. Bare.

Suffrage Study Course, Bronx Headquarters, 3rd Ave. and 149th St., 8 P. M.

Meeting, 27th Assembly District, Manhattan, 48 East 34th St., 8 P. M. Open to members and their friends.

Meeting of Equal Franchise Club League. Clubhouse, Sanford Avenue, Flushing, 3.30 P. M. Speakers: Miss Ethel Stebbins, Miss Adaline Sterling.

April 14th—Cake Sale, Ways and Means Committee, Headquarters, 48 East 34th St.; 3 to 6 P. M. Tea and cards. Tea, 15 cents. Cards, 50 cents.

April 17th—Package Party, Lenox Headquarters, 1774 Madison Ave., Manhattan, 8 P. M.

Public Meeting, 5th Assembly District, Brooklyn. Public School, No. 26, Quincy St., near Ralph Ave., 4 P. M. Mrs. E. C. Cheel, Speaker.

April 18th—Meeting, 7th Assembly District, Manhattan. Hudson Guild, 436 W. 27th St., 8 P. M., followed by supper and dance.

April 19th—Suffrage Training School, 48 East 34th St., 8 P. M. Speakers: "Organization and Political Methods," Richard Greenbank; "Economics," Prof. David Friday; "Current Events," Miss Eleanor Gates.

Lecture in Russian, Miss Anna Stavsky, of the staff of Russkaye Slovo. Lenox Headquarters, 1774 Madison Ave., 8 P. M.

Suffrage Study Course, Bronx Headquarters, 3rd Ave. and 149th St., 8 P. M.

Monthly Meeting, 12th Assembly District. Friends' Seminary, 226 East 16th St., 8 P. M.

Open Meeting, 27th Assembly District, Manhattan, 48 East 34th St., 8 P. M. Speaking and music. Everybody welcome.

April 26th—Lecture in Polish, Mrs. Gersz. Lenox Headquarters, 1774 Madison Ave., 8 P. M.

At Home, 27th Assembly District, Manhattan, 48 East 34th St., 8 P. M. Speaking, followed by social hour.

April 27th—Meeting of Board of Directors, Woman Suffrage Party, 48 East 34th St., at 10.30 A. M.

To secure publication in the Calendar, notices must be received before the 21st of each month. Notices must be of public meetings or entertainments only, and must give definite information of time and place.

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